I: Huntingford E-4,5 (1938-1939) 1953 FLA Dorobo FLA

side, arbitrary, and unsafe. In the first category, incest is punished under the authority of the clan council; the man is beaten, his hut burnt, his honey-barrels destroyed; the woman also is beaten. Witches might be killed under authority of the local council. In cases of persistent disobedience to the council, the elders could call upon two or three men to force the offender, by moral and physical persuasion, to mend his ways. Of offences in the second category, instances have already been mentioned (p. 86). Theft, when not dealt with summarily, can be brought to the local council, which can order payment of compensation. A more account of manslaying food many way. "If I see a thief, very fine grass eat me," and often a thief is given between his teeth. Adultery might be punished by the injured husband, who, if he killed the offender, had to pay blood-cattle. If a man bewitched another by something him, he must find him all he required. Homicide of a Dorobo or another clan, though not involving primary sanctions, was a serious offence because it meant that the murderer had to get cattle in order to pay compensation. The usual number was nine head of cattle, though where the murderer was a very poor man living alone the number might be reduced. The kind of cattle (male or female) did not matter. The murderer had to provide as many as he could, from his own herd if he had one, or by exchange from the Dorobi, or by any other means, including theft. The deficiency had to be made up by his fellow-clansmen.

Summary

The Dorobo tribe consists of a loosely integrated group of districts held together partly by the feeling that they are all Dorobo, but much more by the clan ties which cut across the district boundaries. The clan is therefore one of the chief institutions in the life of the Dorobo.

MAIN CULTURAL FEATURES

Clothing

Dressing

(a) Forest type: the Arowngol, in use as late as 1937, was a framework of sticks bent over to form an oblong, dome-shaped structure, covered on the outside with banana leaves and leaves of trees; height, 6 ft.; length, 11 ft.; width, 7 ft. (b) Kraal type: the kraal has a circular wall about 6 ft. high plastered with mud, and an almost flat thatched roof supported by a centre post; the hut is a hut of ordinary Bantu type, the walls of which are occasionally left unplastered.

Settlements in the forest, consisting of three or four Arowngol huts, were situated in clearings just big enough to hold the huts, and were approached by concealed paths which branched in a bewildering manner that made it impossible to find them without a guide. Settlements outside the forest are arranged in small groups usually close to the cultivated land.

Dress and Ornaments

Clothing is made largely from the skins of wild animals, and the furnishings are mainly copied from those of the Masai, as are most of the ornaments, which include, amongst other things, iron wire armlets and rigets, necklaces, and pierced ornaments in the lobes (lasit). The necklaces are plaited and elongated sometimes getting very in the forest), and a small hole is bored in the top of the ear. Some but not all remove the two lower middle incisors. Hair is allowed to grow to a length of about 2 ins., often it is sometimes covered with a shuttle cap, and sometimes dressed with red earth and fat. Occasionally a man has his hair done in pigtails like the Masai.

Food and Drinking

Nuts and berries are obtained from Masai cattle, the Dorobo making the exchange himself. Dorobo are made from old nuts and bits of iron which the Dorobo

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legs straight and hands crossed on the breast. Babies are also laid out for the hyenas, though if there is a drag-hoop, they are buried there.

Witchcraft

Witches, *gwek* (defined as among the Nandi, p. 98), may be of either sex; females are said to be more common, though in 1938 the Dorobo said there were no witches at all in the three districts of Eldoret, Kipkaren, and Trans-Nzoia, and certainly no trace of witchcraft was encountered. Formerly, in cases of witchcraft where the witch's identity was unknown, the Dorobo went to a Nandi diviner, *oloiyot*, and on her identity becoming known she was required to sit the victim on the fore, breast, and belly with the fat of a she-goat. If she refused, she was tied to a tree by a drag-hoop rightly round her forehead and flogged till she agreed.

Affinity with Wild Animals

Possessing a "hunting outlook," the attitude of the Dorobo to wild animals is unlike that of the Africans to whom hunting is an asset of secondary importance. They seem to be closer to the wild life around them, perhaps because they are wild men themselves. The conversation of Dorobo going through the forest turns quickly to the wild life there, for they have what they and the Nandi call *ororiet*, affinity, with the beasts of the forest. This was described to a man, to which a Dorobo said: "The Dorobo know the speech of all the animals, and they like to see the animals. The animals are not bad, for we said they all dwell in the forest together. The beasts' speech of animals is not like that of people, but it is not very different, for animals also are intelligent. All animals of the forest are alike, though we are some cruel and others, because we, the Dorobo, and they the animals all live side by side in the forest."

Musical Instruments

The Dorobo have no musical instruments, and they seldom sing or dance. They used to have wood-hook horns which were blown to call people together in the forest.

Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-2
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have lived in the country of the Kitóto land, since they are stated to have been the precursors of the Lumi in this part of the world.

I was unable to elicit any folk-tales from the *Aramanik*, who say that they know no stories or legends except those they have learned from the Masai. It is possible that further efforts in this direction might meet with better result. The *Aramanik* are not as friendly or as ready to discuss their own affairs as are the cheerful, happy-go-lucky *Mûsiro*.

Many Masai superstitions and superstitious practices are to be found among the Dorobo. There is, however, certain custom and observance of a superstitious nature practised only by the Dorobo. Of the following the examples, the last two given are in this category.

The *Mûsiro* will not kill a python. They say it is a human of sorts, as are they themselves. Furthermore, if it be killed, the ground where it dies and where its land is split is ever afterwards fatal to cattle grazing there. No explanation is given of this, and it would seem worthy of note that the Dorobo are exceptionally quick and skilful killers of all other snakes.

When following a native path or a road, a Dorobo comes to the place where the track of a snake cross the path, he will never step over it without first kicking y the sand or earth in order to break the continuity of the snake's track. This is done in order to avert evil, and is said to be the only effectious way of ensuring that the snake question will not eventually kill the man who has crossed i path.*

If a Dorobo has been robbed and if the rat cannot be found, the following procedure is sometimes resorted to. The man who has suffered the loss heats his sword in the fire until it is red and then, plunging it into the earth, says: "The thief shall die to-morrow." This is regarded a very bad practice and is seldom indulged in, as the injured one, no matter how much he may have lost, knows that he will become responsible for a death of his action.

It seems likely that in a few years' time there will be no *Dalalîga* and no *Kimyakîyôgi* Dorobo. As I have said elsewhere, it is now almost impossible to find *Dalalîga* or *Kimya-*

* See Kikûyu: The Snake, p. 80.

* Ibid., p. 79.

normally go elsewhere for the night, leaving the hut to the man. In the matter of hospitality, relationship by blood, marriage, or clan is a deciding factor in the length of time for which a man may expect to be put up by his host. Thus, no matter what the age-set situation may be, a man who is neither a relative nor a clansman cannot claim more than two nights' hospitality on account of necessity, and will not be given beany-wine; while a relative or clansman may be fed for a week or even longer, and the host will give him beany-wine if he has any.

5. Behaviour

A brief summary of the modes of behaviour towards important relatives was given by a Dierske in the following words: *Makinaipi gagwa ne bwaia a kagiva tabwal; makinaipi tabwaq gagwa; makinaipi tavkwi ali aiga valali ai wawia, awwa ga, ngwi valali ali tamdzwa; kiwawwaiwaiwai tabwal.* ("A man does not use bad language to his father, though his father may beat him as a child, nor does he use bad language to his father's brother; he does not speak of dirty things, nor of sexual matters, to his mother and his mother's sister, for it is bad to do so; but we all play together, i.e. we are on terms of friendliness and 'close fun'.") Generally speaking, seniority is a matter of age, except with regard to the father's brother and sons of senior age-sets.

It is unlikely that any Dierske ever sees his father's father's father, and the father's father is seen only by small children. The father's father is regarded much as one's own father. But the father's mother helps to rear the children, and so becomes an object not only of familiarity but of affection as well to the children. To all of the father's generation a man should show respect and obedience. He must not insult them, nor use unsuitable language in their presence. Corporal punishment may be inflicted on a male or diarbedwaw child with the hand or with a stick, by father, mother, and father's brother. Verbal correction is also a common method of dealing with naughty children, and though a man would not use a rude word to a naughty child who had made him angry anything as drastic as *kwara vakai* (away you dog of kwaraiki), in case the spirit world took him at his word, he might go so far as *kwa gisi tavi tavi*, an expression which if used by a child to a senior would certainly earn a beating.

Most Dierskes are fond of their parents, and even those in old age [illegible] living with their sons [illegible] the more helpless the parent, the greater the trouble taken to make them comfortable. The old father of Tito, to whom I have already referred, was such a one. Most feeble, hardly able to move without help, he spent his time lying outside in the sun when it was warm, and indoors beside the fire when it was cold. He had to be helped to and fro, and fed and looked after like a child, but it was all done cheerfully by Tumoia and his wife, to whose hut the old man lived, and if they could see amused to him. Tito and his wife did.

the other hand, there should be no avoidance, just greeting and a minimum of conversation, as between strangers. The children of his wife's brother and sister are treated as his own. A woman regards her husband's brother and sister and their spouses much as he regards her brother and sister.

When the father's mother does not live with her son, she may perhaps be in the next settlement. She will then visit her grandchildren, and they will go to see her. This interchange of visits teaches children a good deal about the treatment of important people like grandmother. Interchange of visits with the mother's mother also takes place, especially when the man is getting older. Thus, Ledekitwa the mother of Kioy Mbing went to visit her daughter Lwangary who was married to a Kyungi called Nguwwa and had three sons. She would stay a few days with her daughter (during which time Nguwwa would live in another hut) and then go home. Presently Lwangary would bring her children to see Ledekitwa, and while the children were all still young (before they had reached puberty) they slept together in Ledekitwa's hut. After reaching puberty they slept in the shelter with Kioy Mbing. Little mating then (after father's mother stop) to her hut whatever their age.

Children are generally fond of their father's mother, partly because she makes it her business to be nice to them, "for they are the children of her child, and people do not hate their grandchildren". But if they do not visit her as often as she would like and bring her presents of food, she will be annoyed and shows her anger by saying, *Nzoo ndaka ndeeo a mwiwa wakwatiti* ("Hmm, the you children who have not brought me food"), a name which is not dangerous because it is overridden by the word 'grace', and because she takes care to say it in the hearing of someone who will report it to the children, when some such conversation as this will take place:

Friend:	*Kyaau kyaitiko wasii, ko wendei, waa nwaiyeo wakwatiti* yesterday, she said, "Hmm, after they bathed".
Children:	*Wii, yeenyii waa ayyii ko kwaiyo kwiku, kiuka,* "Hmm, mother".
Mother:	*Ehaaaaaa, kiikwa, waaa wii kiiku kwaatuuli, a waa wa kyeto wiiniku.*
Friend:	*Eiiii, waaa wiiu, ai ko waa kiiku.*
Children:	*Eiiii, kiie kwaa, Eiiiyiiii wa, ai kwaa?*
Mother:	*Eiiyaali kwaa, a kiiyiiii nyeeyii ai kiiwaali.*

I saw at Ledekitwa's place yesterday, and she is angry because you have not brought her food for many months, and she cursed you and said, "Hmm, its, you children".

Alas! where shall I go, mother? Ledekitwa has cursed us and said, "Hmm, its."

Do not be afraid, children, grandmother does not hate you she loves you! [illegible] Ledekitwa she will go to her place to take her a present.

Yes, that's the best thing to do, so as to please grandmother.

Yes, let's go to-morrow. What shall we take her so that she shall be pleased? We'll go in the morning, and take her some meat and some honey and maize

Visit day the mother and the offending children home to grandmother's with food. The old woman accepts the food and spits on the children, saying at the same time, *Ore kawaniki ako ne ajanjaniikoo* ("There, I spit on you and curse you with illness"), then both laughing there and removing any possibility that her curse may have an ill effect. The mother's mother may do the same sort of thing, if she lives near enough for the children to visit her.

Inay Shinji's wife's mother and father lived at Kijikonoto, and the children used to visit them there, always taking presents with them. When Inay Shinji visited the old people, as he did sometimes in the company of his children, he met them on ordinary terms, entered their hut, sat on their mats, *e tawa kakai* ("to talk of our affairs"), and his mother-in-law gave him food to eat. By this time, the strictness of avoidance had been much relaxed, for he was a quiet and respectable man of forty or so. But though his children may stay in his hut, he may not do so on any occasion, and if he stays too long in the attic in which Inay Shinji sleeps, he must sleep in a neighbour's hut. His father-in-law Kuntu went to live at Ushinoyuki in Yuzuli, a good two hours' walk from Kijonkoo, but in July 1936 he moved to Kijikonoto, as his son Lyli was working on Kijikonoto Farm close by. A small hut was built for Kuntu and his wife in a maize shamba belonging to owen Yuzuli, and the old people were allowed to live there in return for weeding it. Lyli, a Gisiwa in Inay Shinji's wife's brother, and therefore owes to his children; but though his sister's children do not go to see him, he sometimes goes to Kijonkoo to see them. This was one of the few instances of a mother's brother being on all intimate with his sister's children, and Ujikomatoto taught her children to like Lyli, who would greet them by saying *hubei, bibere* ("greetings, children"), and then spitting on them and saying *tore, bibere* ("there, children") to which they would answer *Ejio, owwe* ("Blessing, uncle"). But in spite of this friendly intercourse, Lyli never played the part in their lives that Inay Shinji's brother Kimoma did, and the alarm in their crossing was very small.

19. The Clan

The clan, *ank, plural ankinuk*, is an exogamous patrilineal group with a name and a totem, *kinak ya ank*, or simply *kinak*, "the symbol (of the clan)". All the eleven clans listed, the existence of eight is attested by genealogies and the custom, the remaining three are reported to exist or to have existed. All but one of these clans have but one totem each, the exception has three, the principal of which it shares with another clan, an unusual feature in that it is the group and not the totem that is important, the clan being a social group rather than a group of people mystically related through the clan animal. All the clan names but one are taken from Yuzuli clan names, the exception seems to be of Nandia origin. Some of these names are taken from the principal name of a Yuzuli clan, others from subsidiary names, for the Yuzuli clan has (1) a principal name by which it is generally known, and (2) a subsidiary name or nickname which it

the relatives it would be very much less. The murderer had to provide as many of the murder-debited spirit as he could, either from his own kind if he had one, or by getting them from the Powrii in exchange for furs, which meant, of course, that the early wealth for either man or woman still rose, and that he would not be able to provide many himself. It therefore fell to the relatives and dependants to make up the number, which created a new reason to apportion the balance among them, and also resulted in a good deal of feeling against the murderer for a time. Until the avenger had been spared upon for both clan and land ownership, the murderer was liable (in theory at least) to be killed by the victim's relatives, as he had to be (as the negotiations were completed, though again it is doubtful if they would actually have gone so far as killing him, for then they themselves would surely have had to return the spirits as compensation for their own act). In dividing spirits between the murdered man's relatives, the order of priority was brothers, wife, father, mother, father's brother, father's brother's son, father's sister's son.

Killing a witch. Though in 1938 I could hear of no Dwrdo who were reputed to be witches (powrii), such people certainly existed in the past. Apart from killing people by spells, their principal activities were to have been created as hunting — getting spells on game traps and on men who were going to hunt. If a witch was shown by a diviner to be guilty of a person's death, he or she might be killed, and no compensation was payable (neglect).

Killing an enemy. This means killing any person who is not a Dwrdo and is believed or known to have performed any ostensibly evil against the Dwrdo. The Dwrdo have no sort of war organization, and their enemies were generally shot at from the cover of undergrowth. Though not a crime, killing an enemy over the line makes the killer ritually unclean and therefore dangerous to others because he has shed human blood. This action is thus brought into the same category as homicide of a Dwrdo, and though there is naturally no compensation, purification is required. The face of a man who has killed an enemy is painted (because killed) with stripes of white earth covered on the forehead, down each cheek, and down both sides of the nose. The paint is allowed to remain till it fades off, and the man does not have to stay in his hut, but goes about as usual. Though if he had killed a Powrii he would take care to go to some other part of the forest till he thought it safe to return. (In actual fact, Powrii were seldom killed, but one who stepped into the forest might get shot by accident.) His body would be taken to a lonely place for the ceremonies to set, and at any sign of Powrii activity the Dwrdo would vanish into the depths of the forest where the Powrii would have little chance of finding them even if they had the inclination to search.

Theft. Stealing honey is the most usual of theft, and is almost unknown except between Powrii and Dwrdo. A man who steals honey from someone else's hive/nest is considered very low indeed, and if found

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an goat where the Dorobo are concerned); *mwoit ap tangine*, lit. the fat of cow's udder, or butter, i.e. solidified whole milk; honey-wine; and white earth.

Illness is generally believed to be due to the anger of an ancestral spirit, to the spite of an evil spirit, or to witchcraft. Sometimes, on the other hand, it is thought to have a natural cause. When a person is taken ill the relatives, unless they can be sure that the illness has a natural cause, go to a Nandi diviner of the kind called *ombeyuot*. Diviners used to charge the Dorobo a fee of 1/ — if the cause was witchcraft, and 1/ — if it was due to a spirit. But if a man went down to the lowey country where there is malaria, and after his return was taken with ague and fever, they knew it was a natural illness, *kwoin pur*, and did not consult a diviner.

If the cause was found by the diviner to be witchcraft, the witch was followed according to the methods employed by Nandi diviners, and the sick man's relatives went to the witch's hut, pulled him or her outside, spat in the face and said: "Come and rid he-and-so that he may recover". The sick person must then be oiled on the face, chest and belly with the fat of a she-goat or with *mwoit ap tangine*. If the witch refused, the practice was, especially if it was a woman, to tie her to a tree by a thong the other end of which was drawn tightly round the forehead, and then flog her soundly till she promised to do what was necessary. When this had been done, the witch was driven out of the *kwot*.

A witch might be of either sex, but they were generally women; in fact it is said that there have been no male witches among the Dorobo for many years: they say, too, that they have now no female witches either. Whether or not this is true, I certainly could hear of no case of witchcraft where a Dorobo was believed to be responsible. This does not mean,however, that the Dorobo are entirely free from this evil thing, for sometimes they are bewitched by Nandi. When this has been shown, by divination, to have been done, the Dorobo go to the Nandi who live near the witch and ask for their help in dealing with him or her. This the Nandi generally agree to, for they like witches no more than the Dorobo; and the witch is then dealt with according to Nandi procedure. One of the allegations made by the Dorobo against the Nandi in 1930 was that they did not want Dorobo to live in the Nandi Land Unit (Reserve), and that they were using Nandi witches to get rid of them.

The reason that Dorobo go to a Nandi diviner (*ankoyoot*) for the detection of the cause of illness and witchcraft is that they have no diviners of their own, for the people among them known as *orkwik* are not, like the Nandi *orkwik*, diviners, but simply people who know how to cure illness with *kwosek ap kirik*, medicines from trees and plants, herbalists whom the Nandi would call *kiptorosiondi*. These *orkwik* (sing. *orkwiyot*), besides being able to make herbal medicines, prepare charms to protect people from sickness and the evil eye. Children wear necklaces of *kiboyoond* seeds (called *kiboondi* in Nandi) to protect them against the evil eye, and old men wear small pieces of the *mwondet* tree, each about 3 cm. long, tied to their belts as a charm against rheumatism.

R. J. Wenyon.—Preliminary Studies of Tribes of Kassanga.

In this connection it is interesting to note that when in Kassanga in 1949 I was told that no new societies were needed, much the same as those as the societies were described by Dr. Forsyth Thompson, are found in the Turkana country. Initially, it is said, boxes also made there, and they are seldom seen. I, for one, have not seen any. Perhaps it may not be altogether out of place to mention here the occurrence of ancient tree trunks that are, from time to time, dug up by natives when cultivating the low ground near Mount Elgon (Masaba), on the extreme south-east of Kassanga, and that there are legends that seem to refer to an ancient maternity migration of a people from the region of Kiyanzara into Uganda some considerable ago. These people are said to have been the followers of one Kintu to whom and brother to a reigning monarch, who during a sojourn in Kintu on the Uganda Province, constructed these remarkable earthworks known as Ziggo Bya Wayungu (the wrongers' fort). This legend, it may be added, was to unravelled very interestingly, but with what validity I have not, with the natural buildings of the Stanleyboro type in Rhodesia.

Conclusions Discussed.

In collecting information, it was found that the tribes were not all equally willing to impart it, and considerable difficulty in this respect was experienced with the Wanderobo. Much of the information that is ethnologically interesting among the people is followed purely because it is continuing, and even others have not even but the fullest have any knowledge of the esoteric significance of many of the acts of almost everyday performance. However, the origin of some practices is lost in antiquity. The Kikiru, too, are suspicious of their enquiry. They have learnt from the Native troops of the K.A.R.; that therefore to the Protectorate the Government is trying to look to stamp out witchcraft, and they fear this anything they can should receive them support. On the other hand, the common people usually think it safe that there should be any reason behind long-established procedure; and if broadly disposed and not suspicious of the enquirer's motives, and if they are anxious to please, they will, after questioned, invent what seems to them probable explanations and assurances them as fast that theories differ as their makers, and in order to be helpful the people will often discuss matters among themselves for the purpose of coming to conclusions. The value of these is more than doubtful, and is invariably lost by errors or results, if possible, by indirect methods. Leading questions must, of course, be avoided.

My enquiries led to the accumulation of a very large collection of notes, some of which proved valueless, while much of the information was contradictory. All the material was carefully revised, and the mutually incongruities results discarded. The task is a very interesting one. It is, however, better than nothing and clearly indicates that the tribes of Kassanga are deserving of detailed study.

So far as positive results are concerned, it is extremely insighting to draw comparisons between these and those obtained by other investigators in neighbouring territories with a view to establishing cultural origins and migrations, etc. It is also, however, to have title to the gratitude attaching. One garbage are very good, but that some of the negative results are now entirely without interest. One may note, for instance, the absence of [illegible]

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cause sore and make honey sour." Then, Moses said that man can be made as the same day as honey, nor must fats of the lamb be left lying about; they must be carefully covered up. The first of these prohibitions is analogous to the Jewish avoidance of meat and milk on the same day; the second, though the Gentile say it is done "so that other people shall not see it," is also due to the ritual value of honey, and the consequent necessity of showing respect towards it.

In the ritual treatment of certain animals the use of certain materials is essential if the ritual is to be effective. Thus a homicide must be rubbed with clean fat, lustrated grass from the stomach of a goat or sheep, and he must also be rubbed with honey; [illegible] dislikes to a ground rift in the ground [illegible] and sweetness); an unmarried girl who has had a child must also be rubbed with clean; a widow previous whose illness is due to witchcraft must be rubbed with goat's fat or butter; and a man who has killed an enemy must poke his face with [illegible] stripes of white earth-clay across the forehead [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]